

Morals on Your TV—By *Frank Orme*

THE *Nation*

June 21, 1952

A German View

Rearmament: The Road to War

BY CAROLUS

✱

Europe Votes for Eisenhower

BY MARK GAYN

✱

Big Steel and the Little Man

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

JUN 20 1952

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Knox, Tennessee

20 CENTS A COPY

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Who's Your Wife?

Jeffersonville, Indiana

A NEW extension of the "guilt-by-association" technique was developed in a loyalty-security case at an army installation near Louisville. A draftsman at the Jeffersonville, Indiana, Quartermaster Depot was dismissed because of his association with his wife.

The army's charges were not put so baldly, of course, but in the web of hearsay presented as evidence that remained the chief indisputable fact.

In notifying the employee, Frank Grzelak, 60, of his dismissal, the screening board which had conducted a hearing into his case in March assured him there was no question of his loyalty to the United States. But because of the activities of his wife, Josephine, 51, a member of the Progressive Party, the board felt that Grzelak constituted a security risk. So was ended his seventeen years as a federal employee.

The board seemed principally disturbed by Mrs. Grzelak's support of various Left-wing peace movements. These included helping to organize the Louisville Committee of the American Peace Crusade, seeking signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition, and serving as a delegate to the Peace Pilgrimage in Washington, D. C., in 1951. The board was also disturbed by Mrs. Grzelak's taste in reading. It disapproved of her recommendations of "Betrayal," by (Albert D. Kahn, and various other less-known books such as "The Bible Unmasked," "Bases and Empire," and "Is Peace a Crime?"

These facts led the board to believe that Mrs. Grzelak "evidenced a sympathy with communism." No accusation was made that Grzelak himself participated in any of the activities attributed to his wife except that he once attended with her a public meeting of the Louisville Committee of the American Peace Crusade at the Louisville Y. W. C. A.; a somewhat nebulous charge that he had recommended to a fellow employee some of the books the board found so distressing was categorically denied by the defendant.

The hearing itself was described by Grzelak's attorneys, Robert Zollinger and Grover G. Sales, as "a kangaroo hearing based on kangaroo charges." Of

the various charges leveled against his wife, none was aired at the hearing except those involving the books and the peace petitions. Government witnesses were briefed immediately before their appearance by an "advisory" attorney who sat with the three-member hearing board. Rules of evidence were set aside and defense objections to leading questions were ignored. Grzelak was queried, for instance, on his attitude toward municipal ownership of public utilities. Only one of the defense attorneys was allowed to participate actively in the hearing.

Six witnesses had been subpoenaed by the defense. Not one of the six appeared. Grzelak's attorneys reported those subpoenaed seemed to be in the grip of "an undercurrent of fear." One of those who did not show up admitted privately to a newspaper reporter that some time before the hearing he had been informed by an FBI agent that there was "more to the case than appeared in the charges." In questioning Grzelak, the board pointedly asked why none of his witnesses had appeared.

Government witnesses, for their part, showed an appalling lack of information on the world about them. One admitted she did not know the difference between the American Peace Crusade and the Crusade for Freedom. She did know the former was subversive, however, because it was so tagged by the Business and Professional Women's Association of which she is a member. The same woman testified that she knew the book "The Bible Unmasked" was communistic because the American Legion had so informed her husband. Another witness described a book given to him by Mrs. Grzelak as communistic because it "looked" that way as he glanced through it.

Another witness added a new definition of subversive. "It is," he declared, "anything contrary to the general belief." Under cross-questioning he amended this to the extent of excepting Mohammedanism. On such testimony Frank Grzelak was discharged.

The board's decision was received April 17. A few days later Grzelak's attorneys filed for an appeal hearing. The hearing was quickly set for June 6 at the Pentagon—and two additional charges were leveled against the hapless

Grzelak. He was accused of having attended with his wife two Progressive Party meetings in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1951 at which "persons identified as Communists or Communist sympathizers" took part, and it was charged that a New Year's Eve party held by the Grzelaks on the last day of 1951 was attended by persons "reported" to be Communists or sympathizers. Grzelak's attorneys immediately asked for the identity of the alleged Communists and information on the manner in which they were identified. The government board remained mum.

Neither was any explanation offered for the fact that these "new" charges had not been aired at the first hearing, which was held some months after the offenses were said to have taken place. Had the FBI just come into the possession of the "new" facts or had they been held back deliberately for use in the event of an appeal?

Both the *Courier-Journal* and the *Times*, Louisville's two daily papers, took a strong editorial stand against the dismissal of Grzelak. The *Times* declared: "We hate to think that a man's right to work—as distinguished from his right to a given job—must hinge on his or his wife's political beliefs." It found the discharge "deeply disturbing."

One result of the case has been the formation by Sales, who is Kentucky counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, of the Greater Louisville Committee to Defend Civil Liberties. Its members include trade unionists, ministers, and radio and television personalities. Its first task will be to secure justice for Frank Grzelak. Of the hearing, Sales said, "For the first time in my forty years experience as a lawyer I was terribly frightened, frightened of what might happen to any citizen if the government chooses to attack him."

Already public contributions have been received by the committee in its fight in behalf of Grzelak. Sales has announced his intention of taking the case directly to President Truman if the appeals board refuses to reinstate Grzelak in some capacity.

GEORGE H. YATER

[George H. Yater is in charge of the Louisville Times Bureau in Jeffersonville, Indiana.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 21, 1952

NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

The Real Republican Riddle

With the pre-convention campaign nearly over, the battle for the Republican nomination remains essentially unchanged. Discounting excessive claims by both camps, Taft and Eisenhower should enter the convention with approximately the same number of delegates (assuming that Warren and Stassen delegates will eventually swing to Eisenhower). The decisive votes, therefore, are to be found in the Maryland, Michigan, and Pennsylvania contingents, and also, of course, in the outcome of the contests over certain Southern delegations.

One or two recent developments, however, merit attention. General Eisenhower has noticeably failed to arouse any frenzied popular response to his candidacy. The public's attitude might be described as "friendly but cool." Attendance at meetings and receptions has, in nearly every case, failed to measure up to hopeful forecasts. A coast-to-coast survey conducted by the *Wall Street Journal* indicates that while "Mr." Eisenhower has not hurt himself much with his speeches, he hasn't helped himself either. Here and there a delegate may have switched but there has been no major trend toward Eisenhower. Of definite interest and some possible significance is a recent Chicago *Tribune* editorial complaining bitterly that the "big money of Wall Street" is on Eisenhower, and appealing to the people with "the little dollars"—the salary and wage earners—to ante up for Taft.

More and more it is becoming clear that the struggle between the Senator and the General is not a popularity contest but a struggle for power between two major groupings within the Republican Party which have sharply divergent interests on certain key issues. The real question about the Republican convention, therefore, is this: Where does the center of power nowadays rest in the Republican Party?

Steel Strike

Before negotiations between the steel companies and the union collapsed, the two sides appeared to be fairly near an agreement on wages (see Big Steel and the Little Man in this issue). However, according to Phillip Murray, a number of other important questions remained unresolved, such as seniority rights and incentive pay,

as well as the issue of the union shop. Management has attempted to give the impression that fundamental disagreement on this last item was the real cause of the breakdown and has declared that it will never be a party to enforced enrolment of employees in the union. What the steel companies have failed to explain, however, is why they must "on principle" deny to the steelworkers something that they long ago conceded through their subsidiaries to the United Mine Workers.

Thus the strike continues while President and Congress wrangle about how to end it. Congress lost no time in refusing Mr. Truman's request for a special seizure law, not for the right reason—the fact that such *ad hoc* legislation would set a dangerous precedent—but because it wanted to force the President to resort to a Taft-Hartley injunction. So far Mr. Truman has hesitated to take this step: obviously, if he does eventually order the Attorney General to seek an injunction, he wants it to be clear that responsibility lies with Congress.

Of course, use of Taft-Hartley would not necessarily put the steel-mills back into production, for the courts might reasonably take the view that the union had already met the provisions of the law by postponing the strike for 93 days. And if, nevertheless, another waiting period of eighty days were imposed, the strikers, feeling the scales of justice weighted against them, would return to work in a mood of bitterness that would bode ill for any final settlement. To us, continuance of the strike seems preferable, particularly since the workers have promised to produce enough steel to meet urgent military needs.

He Should Know

In a farewell talk to the United Nations Correspondents Association, Porter McKeever, who resigned on June 1 after six years as press officer of the United States Delegation, delivered several hearty blows right and left—blows he had evidently been saving up for some time. If his words provided considerable comfort to those who think the United Nations should be used more energetically to combat the Russians, they were equally critical of the American attitude toward the international organization. He cited several of the many occasions on which the United States had deliberately bypassed the U. N. in carrying out its policies abroad and deplored in particular the anti-United Nations move-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	593
Korean Kaleidoscope	595

ARTICLES

Disarmament Interlude <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	596
German Rearmament: Road to War <i>by Carolus</i>	597
Europe Votes for Eisenhower <i>by Mark Gayn</i>	599
Morals on Your TV <i>by Frank Orme</i>	601
Big Steel and the Little Man <i>by Mary Heaton Vorse</i>	603
Engineers Turn to Unionism <i>by Herbert M. Orrell</i>	605

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

What Liberties and Whose? <i>by George Soule</i>	606
An Englishman on Zola <i>by Jacob Korg</i>	607
Full of Plums <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	608
Books in Brief	608
Films <i>by Manny Farber</i>	609
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	610

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 611

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 470 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 612

EDITORIAL BOARD

<i>Editor and Publisher:</i> Freda Kirchwey	
<i>Editorial Director</i> Carey McWilliams	<i>Director, Nation Associates</i> Lillie Shultz
<i>Managing Editor:</i> Victor H. Bernstein	
<i>Foreign Editor</i> J. Alvarez del Vayo	<i>Literary Editor</i> Margaret Marshall
<i>Financial Editor:</i> Keith Hutchison	
<i>Drama:</i> Joseph Wood Krutch	<i>Music:</i> B. H. Haggin
<i>Copy Editor:</i> Gladys Whiteside	
<i>Assistant Literary Editor:</i> Caroline Whiting	
<i>Staff Contributors</i> Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus	
<i>Business Manager:</i> Hugo Van Arx	
<i>Advertising Manager:</i> Mary Simon	

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ment now gaining ground in this country at a dangerous pace. He specifically mentioned a "false and scurrilous attack" on UNESCO educational materials, printed in the *Congressional Record* and airmailed all over the United States.

This movement has culminated in the so-called "Bricker resolution"—sponsored, however, by fifty-nine members—proposing a constitutional amendment which, in Mr. McKeever's words, would make "our continued participation in the United Nations, and virtually every other international organization, a practical impossibility." It was no apologist for Russia but an American official with years of experience and work behind him who concluded bluntly: "The United Nations is no longer a dominant element in the conduct of American foreign policy." To those of our readers who sometimes find us unduly critical of that policy, we commend his words.

Canadian Socialism Gains

Two provincial elections in Canada last week produced encouraging results for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. In Saskatchewan, where it has been in power ever since 1944, it gained a sweeping victory, taking 42 out of the 53 seats in the legislature. Final results in British Columbia will not be known until July 3, owing to the operation there of an alternative-vote system. But on the first count the C. C. F., which had only eight members in the last legislature, was ahead in 21 constituencies.

The Liberals, Canada's dominant party, suffered a serious setback in both provinces. In British Columbia, where they had held a majority, they were leading in only nine constituencies at this writing, and in Saskatchewan they suffered a net loss of eight members. The Social Credit Party, which has been trying to spread its influence from its Alberta stronghold, appears to have made important gains in British Columbia. By contrast, in Saskatchewan its total vote was halved compared to 1948 and all its 24 candidates were defeated.

Friction within the Liberal Party together with dissatisfaction with the federal government's farm policies, contributed to the C. C. F.'s Saskatchewan victory. But the main reason for its gains is undoubtedly its record of achievement in the past eight years. It has been a true people's government bringing real benefits to farmers and workers. It has, for example, instituted a health program providing free hospitalization in return for a family contribution of \$30 a year and set up a government insurance office that has reduced the cost of fire and automobile insurance. It has also launched ambitious plans for the development of resources. In short, within the rather narrow limits permitted by the provincial constitution, it has followed a socialist policy. Evidently the voters approve.

Veto the McCarran Bill

The McCarran (anti-) immigration bill, which seeks to substitute a padlock for the Statue of Liberty, is now in the hands of the President for his signature. In a brilliant analysis of the pernicious measure, Felix Cohen, former solicitor for the Department of the Interior, urges a Presidential veto on the grounds that the bill: (1) puts the foreign-born among us under increased jeopardy of deportation, with or without hearings, for acts reaching decades back which may even have been perfectly lawful and proper when they occurred; (2) puts American citizens abroad in jeopardy of loss of citizenship and exclusion from the United States without notice or hearings; (3) gives large new powers to various government officials by making their "opinion" a basis for exclusion or deportation; (4) lays down statutory discrimination against colonial peoples as well as all other people whose family tree includes 50 per cent of "Asia-Pacific ancestors"; (5) surrenders American sovereignty by delegating to foreign governments the power to decide which of their citizens or former citizens the United States may admit; (6) provides for the deportation of political and religious refugees for a wide variety of reasons; (7) stultifies America's moral leadership by reaffirming in 1952 illiberal racial judgments and isolationist attitudes which were written into our statutes three decades ago.

To this plethora of cogent reasons for a veto, we can add nearly 50,000,000 more. That many in the United States are either foreign born, have at least one foreign-born parent, or are colored. The McCarran bill strikes, either directly or through their parents, at the normal American rights of one-third of our people.

Korean Kaleidoscope

WE ENTERED Korea with the announced objectives of returning that unhappy land to unity and to democracy. If our enemy Mao effectively blocked us from achieving the first, our friend Rhee has been no less valiant in preventing us from achieving the second. In this regard, there is much in the Korean picture that smacks of high comedy in the classic sense. But the world is in no mood to laugh, not even at the spectacle of Uncle Sam being bitten in the ankle by a wayward nephew. There is too much at stake for all of us.

Aside from the Rhee affair, there are two chief trouble spots in Korea: the truce talks at Panmunjom, and the "second front" on Koje.

Koje Front. News dispatches out of Korea have been misleading on a basic issue. For the most part, they have implied that "kangaroo" courts, prisoner riots, mass defiance, and executions of dissident prisoners by those in control, are the devilish inventions of the Com-

munists. As thousands of our own veterans of World War II can testify, nothing is farther from the truth. We had similar trouble with our German and Japanese prisoners all through the war, and Allied prisoners in Nazi hands behaved the same way when sufficiently aroused. The vengeance wreaked by the *Maquis* upon collaborators—whether within or outside the prisoners' enclosures—is an obvious case in point. And even in the Koje compounds, as the *New York Times's* George Barrett pointed out in an especially interesting story last Sunday, "the system of kangaroo control . . . was by no means a special franchise for Communist fanatics; bitter anti-Communists . . . took no lessons in cruelty from the Red 'czars.' "

THE bodies of seventeen garroted anti-Communists found in a Koje compound reaffirmed an obvious truth: human beings, when moved by fanatic adherence to a cause, are capable of great cruelty. Our weakness in Koje, as almost everywhere else in both the hot and the cold war, is that we have never brought ourselves to accept the possibility that the people in Communist countries may believe in Communism. We blandly assume that no one in his right mind would wear a Communist uniform unless there were a Communist pistol at his back, and that all we had to do to turn him into an anti-Communist is to take away the pistol and give him \$54 worth of G.I. uniform and a can of C ration. Clearly we have been looking in the wrong places for genuine Communists; there are more of them in Communist countries, and far fewer of them here at home than we think.

In any case, in view of our repeated official statements that the Koje compounds were ruled by Communist cliques, and that none of our people dared enter them for months at a time, the question remains. How did we manage to screen the Koje prisoners? And how did we arrive at our big anti-Communist majority if the rank-and-file of prisoners were really under the thumbs of the Communists?

The Panmunjom Front. During the prolonged debate on the question of voluntary vs. forced repatriation of prisoners, we have been wearing a mantle of nobility which, in our hurry to buy, we grabbed from the over-size rack. We have been asserting, for instance, that it would be inhuman to return to the Communists some 100,000 prisoners whom we claim to be anti-Communists. But the sincerity of our concern for them must be judged in the light of the passage last week of the McCarran act, which—unless vetoed by President Truman—will effectively see to it that wherever these poor prisoners go once they are freed, it won't be to this country.

It can properly be argued, of course, that where national security is at stake, it is silly to talk of humanitarianism. But that argument is equally valid for the

Communists. As long ago as January 17, the Peking radio charged that the United Nations was planning to permit its anti-Communist prisoners to join the Nationalist forces on Formosa. Concerning this charge Admiral Libby of our truce negotiating staff had this to say: "Just as Korean soldiers have the right to choose which part of Korea he wants to go, so the Chinese volunteers have the right to choose whether they want to be repatriated to the Republic of China [the Formosa government] or to the China People's Republic [Communist China]." Can anyone deny that it is a threat to Communist China's national security to permit the transfer of Chinese soldiers to the Nationalists in Formosa?

BUT to say we have overstated our case on the war prisoners' issue is not to say that we have no case at all. There never was any reason for us to return to areas north of the 38th Parallel prisoners whose origins are south of that line. After some dilly-dallying, the Communists themselves accepted the principle; since last March, it has been clear to our negotiators that all South Koreans could be resettled in South Korea. In addition there are some thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of prisoners in our hands who were not technically "captured," but who deserted as a result of our propaganda, including our promise to protect them. It is difficult to see how we can evade the responsibility for their continued safety. And there is a final category of prisoners to whom we owe a moral obligation: individuals who, according to available specific and concrete evidence, have been of service to our side and have thereby incurred the enmity of the Communists. The rest, it would appear, should be repatriated. This is in accordance with the Geneva convention; it is in accordance with the traditions of war; and it is in accordance, one can be certain, with the wishes of the 12,000 United Nations prisoners, now in the hands of the Communists, who would like to go home.

In our Korean policy we have failed properly to appraise the psychology not only of the Communists, but of our allies as well. The growing unrest of our European partners over Korean developments, particularly the British, is the result. We are not doing ourselves a service in insisting that General Mark Clark, and the Pentagon, shall be the sole arbiters of destiny in the Orient. Let us share the next mistake—if there is to be one!

As this is written, British Defense Minister Earl Alexander is visiting in Korea. He should be told that a British representative would be welcome to sit with the Americans under the truce tent at Panmunjom. And a representative of the French, who have their own troubles in the Orient, should be invited too. After all, the flag flying over the tent is that of the United Nations, not the United States.

Disarmament Interlude

By J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE atmosphere here grew no brighter after General Clark's statements threatening to bomb Red China if the Communists should start a major offensive in Korea. Together with the general dismay over the grim events on Kojé Island, Syngman Rhee's arrogant behavior, and the truce deadlock, it increased the feeling that we are entering a new period of the gravest war tension. All of this was inevitably reflected in the Disarmament Commission where Jacob A. Malik, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, turned down the new Western plan for putting ceilings on armed forces, denouncing it as "false and hypocritical." But this stalemate should not be taken as a sign that negotiations are useless or are likely to grind to a halt. The disarmament talks provide a continuing arena of discussion and it is rare that the Russians leave a conference table of their own accord.

Moreover, in the last few days there have been several important off-the-record attempts—by men who are unwilling to remain passive while tension rises to a dangerous pitch—in the direction both of reassuring the Russians and of encouraging the British and French to express their desire for conciliation more firmly than they have done so far. Foreign Minister Uden of Sweden, in his typically quiet way, has been especially active behind the scenes, urging both sides to bring about a four-power conference on Germany before ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties ends all chances of doing anything. This view has now been given official expression in the French request of June 11 for a Big Four meeting. Responding to these pressures and to the urgings of the British government—which is itself influenced by popular clamor and the strong stand taken by the Parliamentary Labor Party—Washington has agreed in principle to talks with the Russians.

But perhaps as effective as the demand for a conference is the growing threat of non-ratification. I know that the French have advised the Russians that ratification of the fateful treaties will take more time than we expected at the moment of signing; that it will at least be delayed until after the American elections. The purpose of this move is to counsel the Soviet leaders to avoid needless provocations. In addition, certain influential French officials are urging postponement of action until the general elections in Germany next year.

The Russians probably regard all this with skepticism. They must assume that if American pressure was able to force the signing of the treaties it will be equally effective in regard to ratification. But meanwhile they lose nothing by remaining in the conference rooms where discussion, no matter how negative, still goes on.

German Rearmament: Road to War

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

SEVEN years after his miserable death, Hitler is celebrating his greatest triumph: Germany is to be rearmed by the same Western World which he had vowed to destroy and which, despite the huge sacrifices demanded of it, had risen to strike down the monster. Seven years after the unconditional surrender, what the Führer had hoped for in vain until the last minute becomes a reality: the West allies itself with the Wehrmacht for a crusade against the East. And as in all tragedies of Shakespearean scope, here too the satiric subplot is present: for the second time, and this time with the aid of the Western democracies, the Hitlerian spirit becomes master of the German people, who wanted to have no further truck with barracks, guns, and war.

There is no use in looking back casting up the account, figuring out on whom the blame for this development falls. No doubt, whether wittingly or unwittingly, those in power in the Kremlin started the train of events by their policy of force, and took such a burden of guilt upon themselves that may God and the Russian people have mercy upon them. Not often in history has such a working capital of sympathy been squandered and turned into its opposite as Soviet Russian policy from May, 1945, to May, 1952, has succeeded in doing. But anyone who travels through Germany and Europe with his eyes and ears open knows too that the former enthusiasm for the United States has also dropped far below the freezing point and that there is as much enmity for America as there is hate for Russia. This is also true of countries in which there is almost no question of a Communist Party or a Communist movement. "Both are to blame," you hear in Bonn as in Paris, "the Americans are as guilty as the Russians"; and if the great majority of Frenchmen and Germans are today in agreement on one thing, it is in their grievance against the United States for having brought the Wehrmacht back into the world again. The millions of Marshall aid, the improvement of living standards, the preservation of democracy, the safeguarding of peace—in the eyes of the Western European peoples, and not least in those of the German Federal Republic—all that is undone by the contractual agree-



ment and the military pact with the Adenauer regime and the German generals.

The war on Bolshevism, Marshall aid for military purposes only, the European army—these were echoed in the words of a French deputy: "France sees herself forced into a policy which she rejects from her soul. What a parody that we are to extirpate the Russian evil by the German evil!" What do the Germans say? Here is a typical quotation from the nationalistic weekly, *Der Spiegel*, which in format and significance corresponds to *Time* magazine in the United States:

It is immoral to loosen a prisoner's chains on condition that he bear arms for his former master. . . . That this conglomeration of peoples [the European army] could not protect German territory from a Soviet invasion can be taken as demonstrated. That it could not prevent world war is agreed. So long as the French maintain a defensive alliance against Germany with the Soviets, the Kremlin's influence can make the German contingent amount to no more than a psychological sedative for the visionaries in Bonn and for the American taxpayer. . . . The consequence will be that the Soviet zone of Germany, which is under ruthless command, will raise more troops than the Federal Republic. The consequence will be that the Soviets will be able to use the resentment against the "German peril" in Czechoslovakia and Poland and raise more troops there too. Who is benefited by unwilling West German troops if they still do not alter the balance of power between East and West?

"Preservation of democracy"! The way in which these agreements were brought into existence and signed shamed democracy. The condition for the provisional peace treaty with Bonn is the rearming of West Germany and its military pact with the Western Powers. No people, no West German parliament, was consulted in the matter, because the regime knew that, in signing the two agreements, it acted contrary to the will of the great majority of the people, who want no more to do with rearmament than with the provisional peace treaty. For this treaty means that German unity now becomes impossible to attain by peaceful means. But since a people of sixty-eight million cannot in the long run be kept divided, its army, in the hands of eight thousand of Hitler's former officers, will present a danger not only to the East but also to its immediate directors in the West.

Twelve German divisions remain twelve German divisions, under whatever name and under whatever flag they march. Called into existence against the will of the

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

June 21, 1952

597

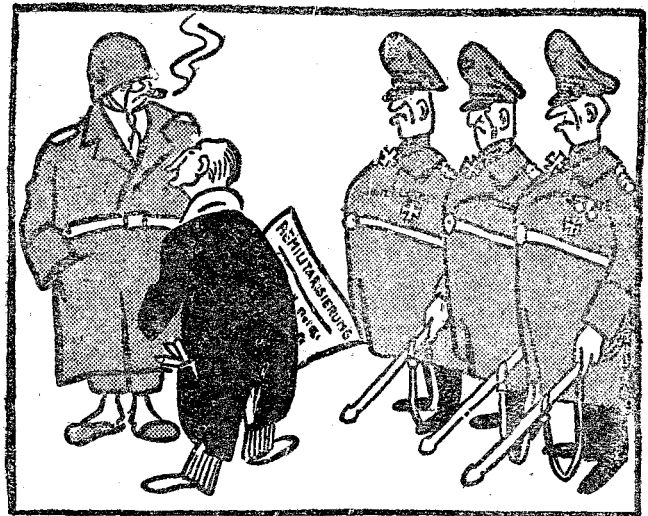
people, and thus automatically against the people, and put into motion without democratic controls, this army will very soon lead a life of its own, independent of parliament and people, with its own policy and its own aims. No Dr. Adenauer and no American High Commander can alter that. Without effective control by any parliament of the six participating West European states, this German army—and presumably the entire European army likewise—will become a dictatorship of military technocrats, who will be joined by economic technocrats in accordance with the number and magnitude of the armament industries which the army will require. There will be a political dictatorship by the military hierarchy.

The cold war has not only its military aspect; economic, social, and psychological factors are at least as important. This European army, in the hands of the military technocrats, will always see the Communist problem only from the military point of view. It will neglect those other factors even more than they have been neglected hitherto, and so make things easier for the Communists and for Soviet Russia.

I will give an example to show how markedly the spirit of military bureaucracy already appears in the agreements signed at Paris and Bonn. In the West German Federal Republic, which Dr. Adenauer obligated by his signature, there are four and one-half million war cripples, war widows, and war orphans. On the meagerest of pensions, they live a life of starvation unworthy of human beings. Hence they are a perpetual focus of dissatisfaction and unrest. Yet in the defense treaties just concluded, only the pensions for the professional officers and noncommissioned officers of the erstwhile Hitler army and the Wehrmacht are recognized as legitimately deductible defense charges for the Federal Republic. What an encouragement to become a soldier for those who do not want to choose the army as a career!

In this same West German state, the Minister of Justice in the Adenauer Cabinet has been saying for months, in public speeches, that a third of the pensions of these four and a half million war victims has been diverted to other purposes, presumably military. Thus the regime is swindling the poorest of the poor in order to finance the building of the army. What psychological perspectives!

"What?" we hear. "No voice for people or parliament, a democracy which has already become a farce, no national unity, but the permanent division of Germany, the darkest social outlook? There's going to be trouble in the Federal Republic." There will be trouble even though the Germans are a patient people, trained by twelve years of the Hitler dictatorship and the subsequent occupation to even greater patience and obedience. Certainly something is stirring in Germany. Every new election announces a victory for Schumacher's opposition party. During recent weeks workers in hundreds of thou-



Tagebuch, Vienna

"These gentlemen seem familiar to me, Mr. Adenauer." "Oh, yes, General, you convicted them yourself a few years ago."

sands and in every city, have obeyed the strike and demonstration calls of the unions in protest against rearmament and the contractual agreement.

This agreement contains the riot clauses—the clauses for the protection of the occupying troops which gives them the right to take the preservation of peace and order into their own hands. And because the Germans are accustomed to obedience, there will soon be no more strikes, and the handful of German Communists will not succeed in kindling a greater fire. The American civilian officials of the High Commission, for the most part extraordinarily capable men, who have lived on good terms with the population, will now be replaced by officers who will take their orders from the American army authorities. The statute of occupation, which has obtained until now, terminates; the occupation and its special rights, codified in countless clauses, remains. Remains, too, a provision, over which there has been intense discussion and which today is more or less concealed in an annex, which stipulates: If tomorrow or the next day the two German zones come together again, if the unity of Germany is reestablished, the East zone shall enter into the same rights and duties as those which the Bonn regime has undertaken for West Germany. But it was precisely to prevent German rearmament that Soviet Russia began its exchange of notes with the Western Powers. How could Moscow return to its proposals for German unity when it is already signed and sealed that the East zone, freed from Russia's clutches, is to be armed by the West against its former occupier?

France is trembling before the rearming of Germany. The proposed twelve West German divisions—even if it stops at these twelve—will be the strongest military force in Western Europe, stronger than all the other Western European states together. In the East zone the Russians will likewise raise twelve German divisions. Considering that the greater part of the French army

is bleeding to death in Indo-China, any attempt to confront Russia with an equivalent force in Europe would automatically drive all the Western European states into an armaments race which could not but strain their economies to the breaking point and create social conflicts whose consequences could only benefit bolshevism. It is an iniquitous illusion to believe that American divisions could be withdrawn from a rearmed Germany and a remilitarized Western Europe. On the contrary, more and more American divisions will be needed vis-à-vis a Russia and its satellites who are determined not to lag behind in the armaments race.

And the Germans? Will East and West plunge into a civil war? Before they do that, the generals of the future West and East zone armies, subject to no sort of democratic control, will try to come to an agreement. At whose expense? At the expense of the Western Powers, for only Soviet Russia can reestablish German unity.

Russia can even, if need be, return to Germany the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line and open to the Germans the markets of the East, even unto China, for which the Germans hanker.

Nothing final has happened yet. The Bonn and Paris agreements are not yet ratified; Germany is not yet rearmed; the great adventure has not yet begun. However much justified hatred those in power in the Kremlin have brought upon themselves, however unfortunate and destructive their power policy has been, the West and its democratic politicians must also beat their breasts; they, too, have a great *mea culpa* to acknowledge. The division of Germany is the division of Europe. The rearming of Germany is the road to the great adventure: to chaos and war. German rearmament will make Hitler's generals the arbiters between East and West, masters of peace and war. In the consuming flames of a third world war Hitler will enjoy his revenge, even in hell.

Europe Votes for Eisenhower

BY MARK GAYN

THIS is June in Western Europe, a time of ripening grain, of anxiety and war maneuvers. In France, there are strikes, riots, and a debate on whether Jacques Duclos's two dead pigeons were the carrier or the stewing kind. West Germany is going through the painful Soviet reaction to the peace contract in Bonn. Here, in Italy, the echoes of last month's local elections are drowned out only by the frenzy which attends the annual eighteen-day bicycle race.

What with all these preoccupations, Europe seems to have little mind left for the coming Presidential elections in America. Later on, popular interest will pick up. But today, ask ten Italians what they think of Bob Taft, and nine will look puzzled. For most Europeans the Senator from Ohio is not even an identifiable name.

Yet, this is a misleading picture. American politics are an integral part of the European scene, and anything that affects the making of American foreign policy closely affects Western Europe. Thus, many observers here feel that no American election in history has meant so much for the destiny of Europe as will the next one. In fact, the "American November" has for months been one of the most powerful, if unsettling, elements in European politics. This has been true on all levels, from anti-U. S. soap-box oratory to intricate diplomatic moves.

MARK GAYN, author of the widely read "Japan Diary," has spent the last five years in Europe.

Not long ago, at a neo-Fascist meeting in a small town in South Italy, I heard an orator forecast that the next, "tough" occupant of the White House "will need our young men, the only young men in Europe able and willing to fight." Conversely, a speaker at a huge Communist meeting here in Rome explained that "Wall Street imperialists are electing Eisenhower to the Presidency so he can launch a new profitable world war."

On a higher plateau, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has been charged by his Social-Democratic critics with rushing through the various agreements with the West to provide "Ike" with a solid campaign issue. It has not been difficult to refute this charge. Yet, in a way, it has truly reflected the German government's preference for Eisenhower.

Similarly in France, the shadow of Taft, former President Herbert Hoover, and the entire isolationist camp has lain heavily on the making of foreign policy. *Le Monde* undoubtedly mirrored official thinking when it wrote recently: "One could say without any exaggeration that most of the concessions which the French leaders made during recent [West European rearmament] negotiations have had but one aim: to assure the success of Eisenhower's candidacy in the next elections—a candidacy which carries for us a guaranty of non-abandonment. And also an assurance against a preventive war."

Finally, here in Italy the "American November" is already a part of the nation's political fabric. It crops up

June 21, 1952

The Charles C. Sherrod Library 599

in the speeches of Communist dock bosses exhorting striking longshoremen; in Communist posters, neo-Fascist appeals, government promises. It is the subject of debate in political circles, disturbed every bit as much by the possible outcome of the American elections as they are by their own national elections next Spring. And when Eisenhower comes to Italy for a farewell call, the Left at once charges that he has come to bolster the unsteady fortunes of Premier Alcide De Gasperi. The widely-read, pro-Communist *Paese Sera* urges him not to listen to De Gasperi but to those voices in the United States which demand peace. "Then, should he win, he will one day be able to say proudly he had assured himself of the gratitude of the whole world."

Not unnaturally, Western Europe views the American election through a prism all its own. To most non-Communists here, it is not a contest between the Republicans and Democrats, or between isolationists and internationalists. To them the "American November" will decide only one thing: whether the "pro-Europeans" or the "anti-Europeans" will shape American policy. Since the candidates regarded as "pro-European" happen to belong to the relatively more progressive wing of their parties, one finds here the curious sight of, say, a Socialist and a ward heeler of Catholic Action cheering for the same Americans. Neither the Right nor the moderate Left is concerned about the candidate's domestic policy. The only touchstone is whether the man has shown sympathy for Europe and its problems.

By this test, Eisenhower is the outstanding favorite. The attitude is as uncritical as it often is in the United States. Even the "neutralists," who assail the American "military mind," are willing to forget that Ike is a general. And non-Communist trade-union men choose Ike even when they learn his attitude towards organized labor may not be excessively liberal.

What most Europeans seem to like about Eisenhower is that he has demonstrated his good-will for Europe, and that he is a calm and unbombastic man. General Douglas MacArthur gives Western Europe the shudders; Ike, by contrast, stands for political sanity. Newspapers call him "an honorary European." A leading daily here says Italy would be happy to see him win in November, for he has "a sincere friendship for Italy." ("If Eisenhower had remained in command here," it says rightly or wrongly, "the Italian campaign would have been much shorter and less destructive.") And in London, the *Times* joins the chorus with: "He will always be remembered as a great friend, under whom men of this country are proud to have served. . . . General Eisenhower is the best known and best loved American in Europe."

As for the Democrats, the only candidate who gets an

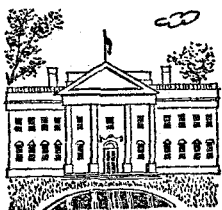
occasional pat on the back is Averell Harriman. He is, of course, known far less widely on this continent than Ike, but what is known appeals to the non-Communists. He, too, is an "honorary European," credited with understanding Europe's needs and having tried to meet them. Wishfully, some European observers see the "American November" as a contest between Eisenhower and Harriman. Whoever wins, Western Europe cannot lose. As for the Kefauvers, they seem to fascinate the editors of illustrated magazines more than the public. Unacquainted with the brighter features of American political life, the Europeans tend to regard Estes with his raccoon hat as a one-man three-ring circus.

THE election comes at a particularly sensitive season for Western Europe. There have been other such periods before, with war alarms and economic worries. But, somehow, there was usually the underlying conviction that war was not yet, and that the generous American uncle would help if the money ran out.

The feeling has not been unanimous. Here, the Communists call President Truman *il padrone d'Italia*, or the boss of Italy; in France, they call him "the butcher of Korean children." With a boost from the Communists, and often without it, the anti-American feeling has been steadily growing, and finding important political outlets. Yet, I am convinced that most Europeans to this day are not hostile to the United States, and President Truman is not universally disliked. The London *Times* probably reflects a widespread feeling when it says that Truman has risen "high above any assessment" that might have been made at the time of Roosevelt's death, and that he has pursued "enlightened and far-seeing policies for the economic revival" of the Western world.

Somehow, Western Europe has been adapting itself to the post-war climate of alarm and worry, and in this adjustment American aid has been an element of normality and stability. Today, the adjustment—psychological, political, and economic—is being threatened by the uncertainties of November. Truman is going; the economic aid, already curtailed, may be cut off; and what will happen here if some "anti-European" moves into the White House? Two things are uppermost in the mind of Western Europe—bread and peace. Increasingly, both seem to depend on what the American voters will do next November.

This has produced a curious duality in European thinking. Most Europeans fear war, and want to be left alone by the strategists of both Washington and Moscow. Yet, they equally fear being "abandoned" by the United States—without credits or raw materials or food. In other words, the Europeans want Uncle Sam to remain here as a provider of needed funds, but to be an ocean away when it comes to politics.



Morals on Your TV

BY FRANK ORME

ROBERT E. FELLOWS, president of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, speaking of Congressman Gathing's forthcoming probe into the moral standards of broadcasting programs, declared that "we have arrived at a point where freedoms of press and speech indeed are seriously threatened in a nation that has become the last great bulwark of those liberties of the people." He told Washington newsmen that any contemplated legislation resulting from the investigation "would appear to be censorship of the most obvious and deplorable sort."

Mr. Fellows's warning is probably valid; what is remarkable about it is that it should have come from him. For the N. A. R. T. B. itself, on March 1, installed a system of censorship over TV which goes far beyond anything any group of law-makers has so far dared to suggest. This was accomplished through the adherence of more than eighty of the 108 television stations in America to the association's television code.

The code is described by its proponents as a "voluntary system of self-regulation." Actually, it is an attempt by a trade association to control a public medium of mass communication. It presents the spectacle of top echelon broadcasters sitting in judgment over each other's morals, and over those of lesser broadcasters, in secret sessions which arbitrarily exclude the most interested party in the whole transaction—the public.

The document is ten pages in length, with two main divisions. The first division includes a preamble and a dozen or so sections which clearly state the television industry's responsibilities, but which only vaguely define the minimum acceptable standards for programs and advertising. The second part establishes regulations and procedures in definite terms.

As a guide or creed for individual broadcasters, the first part by itself might be acceptable to the industry and to the public, even though past experience with similar codes gives little encouragement that it would be effective. However, incorporation of "police" procedures into the regulations completely changes the character of the document. It is no longer a creed or guide; it is an instrument of censorship placed in the hands of a jury which any court in any democratic country would disqualify on the grounds of prejudice and self-interest.

FRANK ORME, editor of TV Magazine, took part in the meeting of the Western Regional Radio and Television Conference early this year at which the N. A. R. T. B. television code was launched.

Broadcasting Standards

Here is a condensation of the principal broadcasting standards established in the code of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters:

1. News reporting should be factual and without bias; commentary and political broadcasts should be identified as such; freedom of expression in broadcasts of a controversial nature should be maintained, but the right should be reserved to refuse them for non-compliance with laws such as those prohibiting defamation and sedition.

2. Religious programs should be presented respectfully and accurately and without prejudice or ridicule.

3. Children's programs should reflect respect for parents, law and order, clean living, high morals, fair play, and honorable behavior.

4. In crime and mystery programs, criminals should be punished, specifically or by implication. Programs should avoid detailed presentation of brutal killings and torture—as well as the disrespectful portrayal of law enforcement and characterization of officers of the law as stupid or ridiculous.

5. Advertising is the life blood of the free, competitive American system of broadcasting. . . . In accepting advertising the broadcaster should exercise great care that he is not conveying to his audience information which is misleading, dangerous to health or character, distasteful, or in violation of business and professional ethics.

The right of a station to display the code's so-called "Seal of Good Practice" is dependent on the thirteen-man television board of directors of the N. A. R. T. B. This group by a two-thirds vote can suspend or revoke a station's subscription to the code for a "continuing, wilful, or gross violation" of its provisions.

Administratively the code works this way: the supreme body is the N. A. R. T. B. television board, described by Justin Miller, board chairman of the association, as the code's "supreme court." This group is assisted by a five-man "police" or review board which acts solely in an advisory capacity. The code emphasizes that all proceedings will be conducted in secrecy.

Four of the thirteen members of the "supreme court" are executive employees of the four major TV networks; six others operate stations in various localities; all thirteen are members of the N. A. R. T. B. Each of the six station operators has from one to four contracts provid-

ing for the televising of programs furnished to them by the networks. By code edict, the five review board members are also N. A. R. T. B. members. They operate stations in Seattle, Kalamazoo, Milwaukee, Baltimore, and Atlanta—all one-station outlets except Baltimore (three) and Atlanta (two). The member living closest to the Hollywood program-production center is Mrs. Scott Bullitt in Seattle. Not one of the five lives within viewing distance of a major production center. Three of them can view regularly only programs televised by their own stations. The group serves without pay on a part-time basis. (This month, with a Congressional inquiry imminent, the N. A. R. T. B. board added a full-time administrator to the staff.) The five members have a total of seventeen commercial contracts with the four major networks.

The review board is required by the code: (1) to maintain a continuing review of all television programming (450,000 hours televised in 65 cities in 12 months at current schedules); (2) to receive, screen, and clear complaints on program content which come to the N. A. R. T. B.; (3) to define and interpret the code; (4) to develop and maintain appropriate liaison with governmental agencies and "accountable and responsible" institutions; (5) to inform, expeditiously and properly, all subscribers of the attitudes and desires of such organizations and institutions; (6) to review and monitor programs; (7) to reach conclusions and to make recommendations to the board of directors concerning amendments to the code. These five persons, the code declares, will do all these things; they will do them in their spare time; they will do them without pay. It is obviously impossible that they will be able to carry out more than a fraction of their responsibilities.



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Disgusting, Ain't It?"

Paradoxically, the code's chief virtue lies in its unenforceability. Thus we are saved from some of the results of stultifying controls over a new and occasionally promising medium of expression. On the other hand, we are subjected to the hypocrisy spawned by unenforced and unenforceable laws and regulations. From first-hand viewing I can state that in Los Angeles, at least, not one of the seven stations is free from code violations, and several present continuous and flagrant violations.

THE week of May 24-30, I personally supervised a study of crime programs televised by the Los Angeles stations. During this period the six monitors tabulated 852 major crimes, plus innumerable saloon brawls, assaults, sluggings, and other "minor" acts of violence. The record included 167 murders, 112 "justifiable" killings, and 356 attempted murders. There were many robberies, jailbreaks, false murder charges, murder conspiracies, dynamitings, attempted lynchings, and other felonies. There was one attempted rape in a crime Western for children. Seventy-eight per cent of the crime deluge was presented on programs for children; 85 per cent was televised before 9 P. M.

We had made a similar survey a year ago. Our latest statistics showed that during the past year, while the television code was being formulated and put into operation, the volume of crime programming in Los Angeles increased by approximately 15 per cent. The over-all impression gained from the majority of television programs for children is that life is cheap; death, suffering, and brutality are subjects of callous indifference; judges, lawyers, and law officers are dishonest, incompetent, and stupid. One station televised a feature-length horror film about vampire bats at 5 P. M. Another, at 5:30 each afternoon, presented a lottery-type "contest" for children. (This is explicitly forbidden in the code.) One announcer, introducing a serialized crime film which ran for five days, told his audience that there was a strong moral lesson, "Do unto others as you would be done by," in the film to be presented. The picture portrayed a quick-triggered criminal as a hero for the kids to emulate. After he had reformed he murdered four members of his own gang, then surrendered himself to the law—for stealing horses. He was in love.

Documented evidence indicates that the Los Angeles stations are televising literally hundreds of code violations each week. What are the code administrators going to do about this? What *can* they do?

As long as the economic structure of the television industry requires the presentation of five hundred or more hours of programming per week in one city, television and mediocrity are going to be partners in a common-law marriage; mass production of high-standard programming is a physical impossibility. No trade-association code is going to create respectability;

no suppressive legislation—governmental or otherwise—is going to raise artistic or moral levels.

Day by day our television stations are piling up a record of the failure of the N. A. R. T. B. code. They are also misleading—or attempting to mislead—the American public. It is time for the broadcasters to admit

the shortcomings of their operations, to drop the subterfuge of the code, and to come up with a fair and open effort, individually and collectively, to improve the situation as far as possible. After all, television is not a complete disgrace. Despite its faults, it is making many vital contributions to our society.

Big Steel and the Little Man

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

LAST FALL the rank and file of the steelworkers looked upon their union negotiations with management as routine. They had had no wage boost since 1950, while the Wage Stabilization Board had approved higher wages for shipworkers, packers, and a number of other industries. But what started out as an ordinary overhauling of a contract between union and management grew quickly into a *cause célèbre*; the whole country was caught up in a dispute of unprecedented intensity. The emotional context was the Korean conflict and the shutting down of an industry vital to this country's defense.

The dispute involved the President, both houses of Congress, the Pentagon, the Chiefs of Staff and their spokesman, Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett, and three federal courts—including the Supreme Court. It drew in a reluctant Secretary of Commerce, caused the resignation of Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson, and set in an uproar the National Production Authority, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Wage Stabilization Board. At one stage no less than six different bodies were investigating various facets of the dispute. With so much going on at such high levels, it was not surprising that the ordinary steelworker became the forgotten man.

Meantime Congress, with the support of the National Association of Manufacturers and the national Chamber of Commerce, introduced a spate of proposals for punitive labor legislation. Newspapers throughout the country jumped into the fight—almost without exception on the side of management. The heads of the steel industry told their story through television, radio, and the press; they spent millions of dollars on full-page advertisements trying to convince the public that the union and the President were in cahoots against democracy.

By the time the Supreme Court made its famous decision, the W. S. B. had had its wings clipped and Congress was beginning to tamper briskly with the

Walsh-Healey Act which prescribes basic work and pay standards for American labor.

To the steelworker, one fact in the dispute dominates all others: his conviction that from the first the industry had no intention of bargaining collectively with the union at any time. Phil Murray, in his report to the W. S. B. stated:

The decision to deny our wages and our economic requests was indeed abundantly announced even before our negotiating conferences began. Before we made our proposals Mr. Benjamin Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation, had rejected them. In a speech in Cincinnati on November 15 he announced that "whether our workers are to get a raise and how much it will be if they do is a matter which cannot be determined by collective bargaining, and will apparently have to be decided in Washington."

The steelworkers won a pay rise in 1950, but were still working last fall under a 1947 contract with United States Steel which was as irritating to them as a hair shirt. Few steelworkers anywhere in the industry enjoyed any such commonplaces as legal holidays with pay; they got no overtime for work on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays; severance pay was given only by a few companies. The 1947 contract had faulty provisions relating to seniority, severance pay, grievances, and arbitration procedures. Hundreds of resolutions coming from every local throughout the length and breadth of the land demanded contract changes; the men were as full of grievances as an egg is of meat. Not the least of their grievances was that rising living costs made it more difficult for a steelworker's family to meet expenses.

The union submitted its proposals to the industry: a wage boost of 18 cents, fringe benefits, the union shop, and adjustments of the lagging non-economic provisions of the old contract. To all its proposals it received a simple and reiterated "No." United States Steel alone submitted counter-proposals on some of the non-economic demands, of which Murray had this to say:

The corporation's non-economic counter-proposals were designed to turn the clock of labor relations in

MARY HEATON VORSE has been one of this country's outstanding labor journalists for many years.

June 21, 1952

603

the steel industry back to the nineteenth century when the jobs and working conditions of the employees were at the sole and complete mercy of employers. It proposed in effect to make the union disappear.

On December 20, Cyrus S. Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, tried for a settlement. But in two days of conferences—from which Mr. Fairless absented himself—he could get no counter-proposals from industry. Shortly thereafter United States Steel used full-page newspaper advertisements throughout the country to announce that the steel industry would not ask for increased steel prices if the union would forgo wage increases. What most of the public didn't know was that the industry had already been refused price increases by the government on the grounds that its profits were already high enough.

A strike seemed certain upon termination of the union's contract on December 31, 1951. At the last moment, the President certified the case to the W. S. B., asking the union not to strike pending the findings and publicly charging the steel companies with having refused to bargain collectively. The union, reacting quickly, met January 3 in Atlantic City and voted to postpone the strike until March 23. On the latter date the President asked for, and received, another postponement.

The W. S. B. finally came forward with its proposals: an increase of wages of 17½ cents plus fringe benefits amounting to an additional nine cents. The steel heads expressed themselves as shocked by the findings. Having spurned collective bargaining and insisted all along on keeping the dispute in the hands of the government bureaucracy, the "bureaucrats" had now played them false.

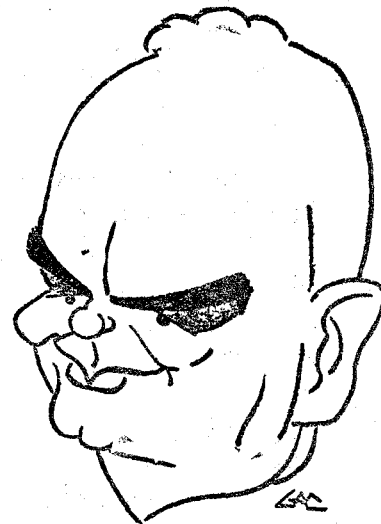
Beyond Comment

By what authority do petty officers, chief petty officers, and officers demand your obedience? . . . This authority comes to them in a long, long chain of command that reaches back to God Himself. . . . Knowing that all authority comes from the Supreme Being makes your military obedience easier. Your superior is God's representative, even if he doesn't know it nor believes it.—*From Chaplain's column in the Dolphin, publication of the United States Submarine Base at New London, Conn.*

C. T. Gillespie, Tazewell attorney, at first said he was for Taft because the Ohio Senator's father had appointed his father a district attorney for western Virginia when William Howard Taft was President.—*From Associated Press dispatch to the Cleveland Tribune.*

[The Nation will pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.]

On March 28, "apparently pursuant to an understanding with Mr. Wilson," Mr. Murray later told the steelworkers, a union meeting with the six largest companies was arranged in New York City. This was the first time that Big and Little Steel had sat down together to bargain with the union. Well-informed observers believed that Little Steel was somewhat less than trustful of United States Steel and Bethlehem, whom they suspected of not being above making separate agreements as they had before. But the sessions proved fruitless, the President having refused to permit a rise in steel prices and industry refusing to meet the union's demands without such a rise. There followed the visit to President Truman at Key West, and Mr. Wilson's famous resignation.



Philip Murray

On April 3, 129 days after negotiations began, the industry made its first offer to the union: 12½ cents an hour and retroactive pay as allowed by W. S. B., coupled with a wage freeze for fifteen months. Nothing was said of the union shop. It was at this point that the union called its first strike which was quickly brought to an end by the President's seizure of the mills. After the seizure, the companies offered five cents for fringe benefits conditioned on a price rise above the \$3 a ton permitted by the Capehart amendment.

In seizing the mills, the President delivered a rebuke unprecedented in history. Earlier Presidents had talked of "malefactors of great wealth" or "economic royalists"; none had ever before directly rapped steel's knuckles. The outcry that followed was terrific. Shouts of "impeach the President" resounded in Congress. Truman was accused, among other things, of having deliberately side-stepped the Taft-Hartley Act. But in his radio address announcing the seizure, the President stressed that there was no way of applying the act without a shutdown of the mills for a week or more—precisely the thing he was trying to avoid.

In the public and legal furore which followed, Secretary of Defense Lovett's compelling statement before the Senate committee concerning the national emergency went almost unnoticed. So did the brilliant analysis of steel profits made by the new Director of Price Stabilization, Ellis G. Arnall, before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Mr. Arnall pointed out that the steel industry could absorb the

entire cost of the W. S. B. wage boost and fringe benefits and still earn \$1,693 millions this year—a return of 28 per cent on the stockholders' investment compared to the 18½ per cent return of the 1947-1949 period.

The Supreme Court's decision nullifying the President's seizure order finally precipitated the oft-postponed strike. A last-minute attempt by government conciliators to get union and management representatives to settle their differences across the table failed for several reasons, among them industry's refusal to accept the union shop. In this, steel is obdurately refusing to accept a principle which has long been recognized as a matter of course by many industries, including the railroads. The union did promise the government, however, that steel would be kept flowing for arms needed in Korea.

Meanwhile the President, above all anxious to keep the mills working, has been requesting Congress for specific legislation enabling him to seize the industry. His requests have been repeatedly denied. Instead, at this writing, he is under pressure from Congress to invoke the Taft-Hartley act despite Senator Morse's warning that "Americans have been deluded into a conclusion that there is something about Taft-Hartley that would keep steel production going. . . . It just ain't so."

Engineers Turn to Unionism

BY HERBERT M. ORRELL

NO LONGER timorous vis-à-vis management, the engineering profession, long a defender of the *status quo*, is quietly turning to trade unionism. Of the approximately 400,000 engineers in this country, at least 15,000 are already organized and making their weight felt. Last summer the unionized engineers of a Brooklyn electronics plant struck and picketed for a solid week, winning a strong contract without a scrap of help from the C. I. O. union which was already in the shop. Such old firms in the field as Sperry, R. C. A., Western Electric, and Boeing have been compelled to negotiate with these upstarts from the drafting boards.

The effectiveness of the new unions has been somewhat hampered by their lack of a strong national affiliate. However, preliminary steps in this direction have been made. Twenty-one delegates representing 30,000 engineers met in Chicago some months ago to discuss plans for a national federation. While the question of structural form was left undecided, the delegates did pass two important resolutions. The first barred from membership any except unions certified by the National Labor Relations Board, which meant that company unions were ineligible. The second was to admit so-called "non-professionals" to membership (non-profes-

sionals in a professional union are sanctioned by the N. L. R. B. so long as there is a community of interest and the professionals are the dominant element).

The resolutions indicated that the engineers really meant business. It cost many of them a great deal of soul-searching to throw away their traditional caste-consciousness and to give up the nebulous benefits of simon-pure professionalism for bargaining power through strength of numbers. But in the end they saw the distinct advantage of including technicians, such as testers, in their union at a time when most shops employing engineers are busy on defense orders. The government won't accept the delivery of equipment unless it has been thoroughly tested.

Delegates from the various independent unions met a second time over the Memorial Day weekend. This time the national organization found itself a name: The Engineers and Scientists of America. But the group proved itself not yet clear about what it is and what it wants. It was originally contemplated that the national body would consist of a series of "regional" or "sub-national" groupings of local unions. The creation of such regionals, however, contained the threat of jurisdictional clashes with engineering unions which had already formed regions of their own. So the conference threw out the regional plan and then turned around and deprived the national executive of real power by limiting dues to \$4 annually per member. As things stand, individual unions can still assist others in various ways, but only at their own expense—no money will be forthcoming from the national treasury.

Despite its weaknesses, the Engineers and Scientists of America represent a significantly new approach to his job by the engineer, who heretofore had restricted his interest to engineering societies concerned with loftier ideas than wage scales and labor-management relations.

What has made the engineers union-conscious all of a sudden? For one thing, whether he designs juke boxes or electronic computers, an engineer is essentially like any other white-collar personnel: he works for somebody else for a salary. But the most important reason is that with the tremendous increase in engineering staffs, which have tripled—quadrupled in some cases—in recent years, the paternalism which once protected engineers has vanished and inequities and labor-management friction have developed.

To this must be added the fact that there is a shortage of engineers, which makes this a particularly favorable moment for the profession to be organized.

The engineer isn't satisfied any longer merely with the accolades of professional status. Today he considers himself a worker and wants the same benefits that other workers have been able to procure through collective bargaining: a salary commensurate with his contribution, better working conditions, and job security.

HERBERT M. ORRELL is a technical writer for the armed services and a member of one of the new engineer unions.

June 21, 1952

605

BOOKS and the ARTS

What Liberties and Whose?

HOW TO KEEP OUR LIBERTY. By Raymond Moley. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

MR. MOLEY, who was one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's early brain-trusters but left the New Deal in disgust, now labels himself a conservative and advocates a political-action program to save us from tyranny by the national government. Although as a former professor of political science he attempts a balanced statement rather than a polemic such as might be expected from a right-wing candidate, he occupies much the same position as Taft or even Bricker.

It is interesting to trace Mr. Moley's opinions concerning what liberties and whose are being violated. There is no word in his book about the prevalent assault on free opinion or education which worries most liberals. He does not discern any imminent danger to freedom of the press, though he does defend large newspapers monopolizing local territories as our best possible source of objective information, and issues a vague warning against the Newspaper Guild. Freedom to vote as one pleases and to join non-revolutionary political associations he takes for granted; it is the basis of his action program. Freedom of worship he does not mention.

As a declared follower of Locke and Jefferson he repeats the traditional doctrine of natural rights, but not in order to sound any alarm about civil liberties. Almost everything he has to say concerns one right only—the right of property. This, he argues, is in danger from an entrenched and rapidly expanding "statism."

Locke's doctrine that property originated as a right to the product of one's own labor in an imagined primitive "state of nature" requires some revision in an industrial civilization where division of labor is almost universal and the wage system is prevalent. Jefferson's fear of governmental power assumed the existence of an agrarian society of independent farmers; he feared even

more the development of a factory system and the power that might result from concentrated private ownership of capital. What either Locke or Jefferson would have thought of a society like ours is a fertile subject for speculation, but there is in Mr. Moley's book no recognition that the change in economic institutions since their day might have led to a different expression of their philosophy. To him it is enough that many now own houses, land, or corporate securities, and that governmental regulation, production, or taxation trespasses on the presumed natural rights of property.

Since property, its uses and abuses, is a subject that lies largely in the realm of economic discourse, it is a pity that Mr. Moley is not better acquainted with economic theory and history. Apparently Ludwig von Mises, whom he cites, is his favorite economist, while John Maynard Keynes plays the role of the great adversary. Marx of course is out of the running altogether, but the author looks with grave suspicion even on such liberal stalwarts as John Stuart Mill and A. C. Pigou.

Mr. Moley's main fear seems to be that the "free market" will be corrupted or abolished, but nowhere does he specify what a free market is or where it exists. Apparently it involves competition, but competition, though mentioned, is another concept unanalyzed by Mr. Moley. He does distinguish it from monopoly but he regards competition in the United States as safe from monopolistic encroachments because there are still many little businesses, bigness as such is not a danger, and there are anti-trust laws. There is here no mention of administered prices, price leadership, resale price maintenance, oligopoly, or monopolistic competition.

Consistently, Mr. Moley regrets that tariff protection, subsidies, governmental financing, and other privileges were ever offered to business enterprises, but how in the world canals, railroads, and even large-scale machine manufacture could ever have taken root without such en-

couragement, and where in the world they ever did so, he does not tell us. Nor does he point out the reciprocal relationship between governmentally granted corporate privileges and governmental regulation of corporate practices—a relationship as old in America as corporations themselves.

Few will disagree that government can tax too much and regulate too much, that it can be inefficient or oppressive. Few except doctrinaire state socialists would want government to undertake any function that can be performed as well by private initiative. The difference arises in applying these admirable principles to specific cases.

When Mr. Moley descends from his high principles to practical affairs he admits that much of the intervention of the past was necessary, but he believes that since 1933 we have gone too far and must begin to retrace our course. Some of the problems that concern him are worth anyone's consideration—for example, the need for revamping old-age-retirement provisions and the scarcity of venture capital for small enterprises. But when it comes to major suggestions he wants nothing less than a counter-revolution.

He proposes, for example, that federal income taxation be limited to a low flat rate and taxation by the states perhaps to 25 per cent in the highest brackets, that federal social security be curbed in favor of local and private philanthropy which should offer nothing without a means test, that regulation of financial markets be turned back to voluntary action by the markets themselves, that government develop no more electric power and offer no more inducements to cooperatives, that regulatory agencies be empowered only to forbid, never to compel action. Above all, he wants no effort by the government to maintain high employment and production, no Council of Economic Advisers, no compensatory fiscal policy, no "planning." The government ought, he believes, to balance its budget every year, in depression as well as in prosperity.

If one could believe, as he does, that a large majority in the United States favor such policies and need only the appropriate party organization to enforce their will, the future would look bright for private government by an industrial and financial oligarchy supported by the "middle range" of income-receivers, in whom Mr. Moley places his faith. The picture evoked is remarkably like that of the "New Era" of the 1920's, but more extreme. That Mr. Moley's program could endure a collapse like that which followed the 1920's is no more credible now than it was then.

Yet, after all, Mr. Moley does offer "statists" and "planners" one generous concession. Private and local initiative, he contends, should abolish no existing governmental activity unless it is ready to serve the same needs better. This leaves a wide field for use of his talents, not only in organizing the party he proposes, but in remedying without the aid of government those calamities which mainly have led to the expansion of government—waste of natural resources, slums, disease, inadequate and costly medical services, monopolistic exactions, racial and religious discrimination, speculative booms and crashes, poverty, unemployment, depression, and war. All of us would be glad to pay lower taxes, even to live under a benevolent anarchism, provided it could be demonstrated that a small and weak government is all that is necessary. **GEORGE SOULE**

An Englishman on Zola

EMILE ZOLA. *An Introductory Study of his Novels.* By Angus Wilson. William Morrow and Company. \$3.

MR. WILSON'S book is the first sizable instalment on the debt of recognition owed by English and American critics to Zola. When the great controversial novels were appearing toward the end of the nineteenth century, English opinion condemned them for two reasons: they violated Victorian standards of taste and morality, and they attempted to effect what seemed to be a false theoretical alliance between art and scientific thought of the day. As a result, they were left untranslated, or were poorly translated, Zola's name was mentioned wrathfully in Parliament, and his English publisher was im-

prisoned. Even today the popularity of Zola's works in English-speaking countries is mainly due to the fact that they can be sold as salacious books, and owes little to any recognition of their artistic stature.

Although he abandons the old national prejudices against Zola, Mr. Wilson writes as an Englishman, mindful of the responsibilities he has accepted in undertaking the first book-length critical work on Zola in English. His criticism is English in character as well as language, and it points out both the foreignness and universality of Zola's work.

Mr. Wilson has no objection, of course, to what used to be called Zola's "shocking" realism, and he makes allowances both for the scientific theories which Zola used to prop up his fiction, and the fanfares of sensationalism with which he advertised himself. His view of the novels, which were planned carefully according to scientific as well as artistic principles, is that of a powerful tide of creative energy, swirling against the prepared dikes of Zola's program and theories, sometimes sweeping them aside, sometimes accepting their guidance. Mr. Wilson shows that Zola's celebrated gift of observation had two aspects: he could observe accurately and exhaustively in a scientific manner, presenting the reader with a photographic reproduction of what he saw, but his special power arose from his ability to use details as eloquent symbols which dramatized his themes. To describe the effect of these impressions which serve as epitomes of the horror and despair of Zola's vision of life, Mr. Wilson borrows from another critic the expressive term "black poetry."

Zola formed his novels by manipulating his profuse material into huge masses like social groups or historical phenomena. Under the stress of his concern for wholes, individual characters are simplified, and their main importance lies in their relation to the crowd of humanity which fills Zola's pages. Mr. Wilson points out that his method of presenting a great social panorama rich in details and given animation by dramatic treatment is essentially pictorial, and may be compared with impressionism. His sensitive comparisons have a way of being especially illuminating. He often succeeds brilliantly

in bringing out some point about Zola by referring to Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Hardy, and, in one startling instance, to Wycherley.

It is a pity that in his otherwise valuable study Mr. Wilson undertakes to explain Zola's work as the result of his psychological characteristics. The method, now grown familiar, of regarding books as the projections of neuroses, like ritual behavior or slips of the tongue, is of ambiguous value. Although it may often seem to make a work of art more intelligible, it is actually a vulgarization of psychoanalytic practice. It has only a small chance of being right, for only the most general conclusions about the psyche can be drawn from observations of an individual's overt behavior. Mr. Wilson's procedure of furnishing neurosis or fixation to account for every modulation of Zola's art is not really scientific; it is like solving a jig-saw puzzle by trimming the pieces to fit each other. Since Freud himself offered these methods (in his essay on Da Vinci and in "Moses and Monotheism") as purely speculative, it is hardly appropriate for critics and biographers who are amateurs in psychology to claim scientific validity for them.

JACOB KORG

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the **U S S R**

Just Arrived! A. S. MAKARENKO

THE ROAD TO LIFE

(An Epile of Education) • In 3 Vols.
Translated by Yvy and Tatiana Litvinov
1182 pp. — Illustrated — Set \$3.00
Latest Soviet Records and Handicrafts
We ship records to all parts of the United States, South America and Canada
1952 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL
SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Bundle Orders for Newspaper Dealers Accepted
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-52
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MURRAY HILL 8-2660

Buy Your Books through *THE Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

June 21, 1952

607

Full of Plums

WINSTON CHURCHILL, *An Informal Study of Greatness*. By Robert Lewis Taylor. Doubleday and Company. \$4.50.

A LOT of people are going to want to write books about Winston Churchill and there are enough plums to make many puddings. Perhaps it is not quite fair to put them all in one book, to make a pudding which is all plums, but that is precisely what Mr. Taylor has done. There are two hilarious anecdotes in the first paragraph and the pace is pretty well kept up during the remaining 433 pages. Doubtless the other books will be written and doubtless there are many more things to be said, but it does not seem likely that the purely entertaining aspects of the subject will ever be better exploited. The author has written "profiles" for the *New Yorker* and learned much of his method there, but he has also shrewdly planned for the larger scale so that what one half expects to become tiresome after a time remains vastly interesting to the very end.

As one skims lightly through Churchill's tempestuous career what one realizes most acutely is not so much that he is unique as the fact that he represents the perfect flowering of a type seldom so completely—and never so attractively—developed. As a young correspondent he suggests Teddy Roosevelt or even Richard Harding Davis. As novelist and rising politician he suggests Disraeli. And even in his most responsible moments during the war he probably never entirely lost his thespian's sense of playing the leading role in a drama even more theatrically exciting than terrible. Like Dryden's Zimri he was "a daring pilot in extremity" and "pleased when the waves ran high"; never, perhaps, quite sure whether he was born to save England or whether England was put in peril in order to give him his chance.

But there is a vast difference between the adventurer who rises from the ranks and the aristocrat who, from the beginning, takes for granted the advantages, the opportunities, and the special privileges which are his by right of birth. Churchill never for a moment doubted that he was born among the elect and that what he had to do was not so much to make himself a place as

simply claim the place to which he was entitled. He would be introduced into politics as inevitably as a well-born young woman would be introduced into society. Moreover, a certain amount of arrogance, impudence, and even of riding roughshod would be taken for granted. His was decidedly not the age of the common man. Nobody wanted him to behave as though he were one and he certainly never did. But one of the things which made him great was the fact that, unlike nine-tenths of the members of his class, he actually did what the theory of the system implied that they all should do—namely, take his duties as seriously as the privileges which went with them. He was physically as well as morally fearless. He would risk his life or his career as recklessly as a man who had nothing but honor to lose and he was often on the side of the underdog, not because he was a democrat but because he actually did believe in *noblesse oblige*. Churchill, praising the high qualities of the enemy and shouting in a speech, "If I were a Boer, I hope I should be fighting in the field," or Churchill, coming out for the eight-hour day for miners and remarking, "Mr. Chamberlain loves the workingman, he loves to see him work," was, nevertheless, speaking as an aristocrat not as a leveler.

Even Churchill would not have said of the Germans what he said of the Boers and that is one of the many signs that his age has passed. At twenty-six and with astonishing prescience he declared in Parliament that war was entering upon a new stage because its chief cause would no longer be the policy of a minister or the passion of a king. "When mighty populations are impelled against each other a European war can only end in the ruin of the vanquished and exhaustion of the conquerors. Democracy is more vindictive than Cabinets. The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings." And because of what he foresaw it will be a long time or never before government can again be played as a game, gallantry and fair play be regarded as indispensable, or any legislative assembly conducted as though it really were what the House used to be called—the best club in London.

But perhaps it is partly because we know so well that we shall not see his

like, not see even his type, again that he seems so attractive and that he is by now one of the great "characters" of all history. It is almost as though the gods had decided to give him everything, even the appropriate physical constitution, because they knew that the species was about to become extinct. As a hunting, dining, dancing youth he "went at his amusements as though he was attacking Tories" and in later life, surrounded by statesmen crippled, dyspeptic, and tormented, he continued to chew cigars and consume whisky with Rabelaisian gusto. In a sense he no doubt represented the bad old days, but they come very easily to seem the good old days instead. Even Franklin Roosevelt was patrician rather than aristocratic and when one compares Churchill with the plebeian world leaders one is tempted to risk the generalization that the megalomaniac who assumes power rather than finds himself born to it is usually more sanctimonious and less attractive. Those born to power and privilege are less likely to feel the need either to punish themselves or to invoke too frequently the sanctity of Right, Justice, God, and the rest.

When, in 1908, Churchill was married in a characteristically resplendent ceremony at an ultra-exclusive church the wedding was attended by one of the largest crowds which ever filled St. Margaret's churchyard. Of the occasion Mr. Taylor remarks: "Then as now the country was about equally divided between those who favored Churchill and those who opposed him, but everybody has always been proud to have him around." The last clause of that sentence pretty well sums the whole thing up.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Books in Brief

THE MAN OUTSIDE, The Prose Works of Wolfgang Borchert. Translated by David Porter. New Directions. \$3.50. The imposing title of this volume embraces the collected stories and a brief play by a gifted German boy who died in a Swiss sanitarium in 1947 at the age of twenty-six. Wolfgang Borchert never had the chance to learn anything but fascism, war, and death: he was a private on the eastern front, was sentenced to death for subversion, was released to fight again, was rearrested,

and died a few years after Germany's collapse, just as he was beginning to gain literary recognition. As Stephen Spender says in his Introduction, this is "the life of a perfect victim of our times . . . of a man born and bred in a prison cell." The atmosphere of these stories, one of almost unrelieved horror and hideousness, is not unlike that of Ambrose Bierce's Civil War sketches; and like Bierce, Borchert managed to impose upon some of his material a troubling and tragic grandeur: such sketches as *The Kitchen Clock* and *The Bread* are like sudden beams of light illuminating the hidden recesses of the human soul.

THE PILLAR. By David Walker. Houghton Mifflin. \$3. Mr. Walker's new novel is a thoroughly competent and occasionally moving account of five war years in a prisoner-of-war camp, as they were experienced by six Englishmen of widely varying backgrounds and temperaments. Despite a complicated series of flashbacks revealing the life stories of the protagonists, this is somehow a modest and unambitious book; but it does achieve quite satisfactorily what it sets out to do.

AMERICAN VANGUARD 1952. Edited by Don M. Wolfe. Greenberg. \$3.50. The editor's nine-page introduction (*The Young Writer and the Nature of Man*) to this anthology of student work by members of the New School's writing classes is studded with fifty-odd references to great literary figures. The lamentable name-dropping carries over into the biographical notes, wherein we are gravely assured by the authors of the sixty-nine stories, sketches, extracts from novels, and poems, that they have been influenced by Crane, Trollope, Huxley, Greene, etc. Fortunately this deliberately encouraged pomposity does not extend to the writing, which, if it is not "vanguard" work, is for the most part forthright and literate. Sandwiched among the apprentice writers' variations on the staple theme of childhood loss of innocence are a number of pieces that make good reading and are worthy of standing on their own.

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THE fourth instalment of de Rochemont's perusal of New England character, "Walk East on Beacon," plods through a leisurely-paced action story vaguely based on the Judy Coplon and Klaus Fuchs espionage cases. The de Rochemont film is always dedicated to lauding a certain American type which blends the qualities of a model Sunday-school student with the talents of a mad industrialist. The central character is a refugee scientist (Finlay Currie) revolutionizing everything from dinghies to flying missiles with a theory he has worked out on high-speed calculators. Looking like a huge Edam cheese topped by a flowing Jean Harlow hairdo, the scientist fits the de Rochemont formula for heroes in that he is pure and innocent and spends his time lifting the lids from high-powered machines and reading numbers from them with a mysteriously joyous tone. Before the film settles down to a series of chases on land and sea, a Communist-spy ring tries to blackmail the scientist with threats against his son being held in Germany's Soviet zone. The movie is against Com-

munists, but it pays a lot of respect to the shrewd, tortoise-like craftsmanship of the spies. Besides being so dedicated to their jobs that they tap their fingers, or sit down to lunch with a mechanical and somewhat hypnotized air, they are seldom seen doing anything except their daily jobs as taxi-driver, florist, or photo finisher. The idea is that they are too clever to expose their devilish skills. Occasionally the movie stops and hovers happily over a tiny electric fixture for blowing up a safe or a set of skeleton keys to lockers in the air terminal or a wristwatch that rings like the chimes in Moscow, all of which symbolize the hard-plugging talents of the spies. By the time the FBI smashes the gang with a flurry of gadgets and techniques, the movie has been turned into a crushing bore by a producer who is so dryly factual and absorbed with mechanical wonders that his movies would ring like an anvil if you bounced them.

Since the first *March of Time* short de Rochemont produced for Luce, Inc., he has placed a peculiar restraint on the realistic skills of his movie crews. It consists of locking his films halfway between the total naturalism of a newsreel and the well-scrubbed, obviously re-enacted realism of the old *March of Time* film which was almost methodically stripped of everything but dull facts.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6/21/52

June 21, 1952

609

Here, as always, he uses an eye-level camera shot that seldom moves in any direction, so that his true story has to be arranged rather stiffly in hundreds of tiny shots accompanied by masses of explanatory dialogue. For example, a Russian agent on his first day in this country is glimpsed on a stroll through a Boston park; the camera catches him briefly in a middle-distance shot but that is all you get because the casual documentary quality would be destroyed if the cameraman followed him around in a normal movie fashion. The movie's speed is dissipated everywhere in brief, head-on shots of inconsequential stuff: a blonde courier getting out of a taxi, a suave Russian dummy hurrying to a telephone, a fat dowager carrying stolen information on to a Pan-American plane. It takes de Rochemont about thirty leisurely minutes to get to his plot (the blackmailing of the scientist) and by that time the movie has settled down to the crawl of a Hawaiian travelogue.

De Rochemont's helpers can set-up a scene that bristles with excitement and shows a sharp eye for the personalities of headline figures tried as traitors. The characterizations are never pure mimicry, but it is obvious that Hiss, Coplon, and Elizabeth Bentley are in the film in slightly disguised performances by little known actors. These actors are at the top of their skill when de Rochemont is trying for stark realism (as in the FBI film shots taken of suspects) and at low tide on the sort of inauthentic reenactment he used on *March of Time*. One of the actresses, Virginia Gilmore, turns up on the FBI screen as

an efficient runner for the spies, with a loping stride, a nervous headache appearance, and a dedicated manner in everything from snubbing out cigarettes to kissing. In these newsreel-type shots, she is realistic in the manner of neo-naturalistic Italian actresses, with a jerky, erratic vitality that seems to belong in the rough gray atmosphere that is caught on location around Boston. However, when she is not being watched by a hidden FBI camera, Miss Gilmore consciously oversimplifies and overstates the mannerisms of a determined but somewhat unhinged neurotic (in line with de Rochemont's theory that a semi-documentary should be controlled and manipulated by its artists, resulting in a more expensive and studied-seeming film than the pure newsreel). Throughout the film the scenes that have an authentic look and the tangled energy of real life (the scientist's midnight walk to the church on Beacon Street, the Coplon figure snapping at her FBI questioner), are balanced by shots in which the movie crew deliberately plays to the audience in thriller fashion. The combination of styles gives the film its peculiar fugue-type composition as well as a certain kind of grotesque and schizophrenic effectiveness.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

MOZART'S lovely Symphony K.543 lends itself to the quiet sensitivity and grace of Krips's performance with the London Symphony on a London record—the first good performance of the work on LP to come my way. In addition the violins, which have sounded thin, dry, and lusterless in previous London recordings, this time have sufficient fullness and radiance—the one flaw in the recorded sound being the occasional excessive power of the kettledrums. On the reverse side is a similar quietly sensitive performance of the Symphony K.297 ("Paris"), a work which is more effective with the sharper inflection of Beecham's old performance on 78, and with the prescribed *Andantino* tempo rather than Krip's *Allegretto* in the beautiful middle movement. The violins don't come through strongly enough in the tutti of the finale; but

otherwise the performance is well reproduced.

As it happens, Columbia has issued a new performance of K. 297 by Beecham and his Royal Philharmonic—one which exaggerates the sharpness of the old performance to the point of brutal violence and distortion. To demonstrate the saddening deterioration in Beecham's work one need only play the old performance of the middle movement, with its easy flow and exquisite inflection, and then the ponderous distorting new performance. The recorded sound is brashly brilliant. On the reverse side is a good performance of the first movement of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, reproduced in B flat instead of B minor, and with poor violin sound, and an excessively slow and stodgy performance of the second movement, requiring stepping up of treble.

All three of Debussy's Nocturnes are on a London record performed by Ansermet with his Orchestre de la Suisse romande, providing an occasion for me to find again that the infrequently heard "Sirènes" is less interesting than the others. The first part of "Nuages" is played beautifully (some low bass notes are weak or inaudible); the *un peu animé* section seems to me too loud and impassioned. "Fêtes" is taken at a slow pace in which it is not festive or joyous; the violins sound dry and veiled, and the trumpets leap out at one in measure 23. Ravel's Rhapsodie espagnole is on the reverse side.

Debussy's "L'Après-midi d'un faune" is played beautifully by Ansermet with the same orchestra on another London record (the antique cymbals come in ahead of the beats in the last measures); the violins again are dry. Stravinsky's Circus Polka, Ravel's "Alborado del gracioso," and the March from Prokofiev's "The Love for Three Oranges" are also on the record.

Neither Szell's performance of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony with the Cleveland Orchestra nor his performance of the "Midsummer Night's Dream" music with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony on a Columbia record has the refinements of sonority and execution that are to be heard in Koussevitzky's performance of the one with the Boston Symphony and Toscanini's performance of the other with the N. B. C. Symphony (the LP reproduction of the lat-

GERTRUDE LAWRENCE

In The Musical Play

The King and I

with YUL BRYNNER

Air-Cond. ST. JAMES THEA., W. 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: \$7.20 to 1.80. Matinee
Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: \$4.20 to 1.80.

Pulitzer Prize & Critics' Award Musical Play

MARTHA WRIGHT GEORGE BRITTON

IN South Pacific

with MYRON MCGORMICK, WILLIAM TABBERT, MARTIN WOLFSON
and JUANITA HALL

Air-Cond. MAJESTIC THEA., W. 44 St.
Eves. at 8:30: \$6.00 to 1.80. Wed. Mat. at
2:30: \$3.60 to 1.20. Sat. Mat. \$4.20 to 1.20.

MONDAY EVES. ONLY: CURTAIN AT 7 SHARP

ter requires considerable stepping up of treble for sufficient brightness).

The Suite from Prokofiev's "Love for Three Oranges"—of which I find only the Scherzo and the music of the Prince and the Princess effective without the stage action—is well performed on a Urania record by Rother with the Radio Berlin Symphony. Well performed also by Steinkopf with the Berlin Philharmonic is Prokofiev's Russian Overture Opus 72, a sprawling, raucous work that I find unattractive.

It is a pleasure, of course, to hear the best of Chopin's Waltzes played as Dinu Lipatti plays them; but what is amazing is to hear the duller pieces in the series come off the Columbia record with engaging melodic and rhythmic life imparted to them by the subtle lyricism and grace of the playing. This makes the series of performances a tour de force of a wholly legitimate kind.

Eight Scarlatti Sonatas—most of them characteristically charming, and one of them, Longo No. 382, very powerful—are played by Kathleen Long on a London record. The playing is merely fluent and deft, without the sharpness and sparkle the brilliant pieces should have and the powerful tensions there should be in No. 382. The recorded sound of the piano—presumably a Hamburg Steinway—is remarkably beautiful.

The fine Mozart Piano Sonata K.570 is played sensitively by Jacqueline Blau on another London record, together with the less consequential K.281, 283, and 543.

Horowitz's performances of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 and Ballade Opus 23 on an RCA Victor record are things to skip. The performance of the Nocturne Opus 15 No. 2 is more acceptable; the passage-work of Liszt's "Au Bord d'une source" Horowitz plays exquisitely; the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 6 I didn't listen to.

I have no prejudice against transcribing piano pieces for orchestra; but I see no sense in transcribing them for orchestra and piano; and I dislike the showy little concertos that Morton Gould has made for himself of some of Tchaikovsky's set of piano pieces, most of them charming, called "The Months," which includes the familiar Barcarolle "June." The orchestral sound produced by the Columbia record is excessively sharp.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

That Nietzsche Book: Fiction or Nonfiction?

Dear Sirs: In attempting to raise a question concerning the authenticity of Friedrich Nietzsche's "My Sister and I," recently published by me, Alfred Werner alleges that it displays familiarity with the main (post-Nietzschean) theories of Freud. Though there are passages with "Freudian" implications in "My Sister and I" they are no more culpable than similar passages in Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit". . . .

Werner is also suspicious of Nietzsche's prophecy that his concept of the superman would be distorted by the Germans into a tool for the destruction of the Jews. Did not Nietzsche's sister, Elisabeth, constantly supply him with food for this belief, first by marrying the pathological anti-Semite Foerster, and, after her husband's death, by suppressing "Ecce Homo" in which Nietzsche demonstrated that his ideal man might be almost anyone but a Prussian? . . .

The most questionable aspect of the book, says Werner, is the autobiographical material which displays Nietzsche's alleged conquests of Cosima Wagner, a sadistic countess, and some women of lesser repute, when "according to Nietzsche authorities and his contemporaries, the philosopher led a temperate, modest life, *except for a tragic experi-*

ence in his youth." (The italics are mine.) But who are Werner's authorities for this? Nietzsche wrote such notes as "Cosima, I love you," and confided to one of the hospital physicians that "Cosima, my wife, committed me here." Elisabeth reports constant quarrels with her and their mother because of Friedrich's attention to Lou Salome and other women. In that last tragic phase of his life, was there anything for Nietzsche to brood about that was more important to him than that "tragic experience in his youth" that had poisoned his blood?

When Nietzsche reached that terrible house in Jena, whether by force or his own contriving, his life had reached a climax that had to spill over into the notes from which "My Sister and I" are composed. Werner questions Nietzsche's ability to think clearly at that time. Doesn't Werner know that madmen have periods of lucidity as well as periods of confusion? And if he could carry on conversations with visitors, as has been attested over and over again, why couldn't he write?

Werner asked for my help in writing an article about "My Sister and I" for *Commentary*. . . . In two long interviews Werner raised all the questions contained in his *Nation* article, and professed himself satisfied with my answers to them. I explained the "Americanisms" by telling him that where there is



Up to 40% savings! This new, money-saving, nationwide merchandise club saves you 10-20-30-40% or more from list price on nationally advertised, standard brand merchandise. Exactly the same items for which you pay full list price in a store!

How the Discount Merchandise Club benefits you: You ORDER BY MAIL, giving complete description of goods you want . . . or send picture from ad. The Club gives you a BIG DISCOUNT made possible by central buying, and YOU GET BRAND NEW MERCHANDISE in factory-sealed cartons! We also send you news of special buys periodically.

Services of the Club are available to Members only. Since we must limit the number of members, we urge you to join now. You may use your membership all year 'round.

Send today for free information on this simple, convenient way you save hundreds, even thousands of dollars a year. NO OBLIGATION TO SPEND A CENT. WRITE TODAY! Dept. N-621

HOME APPLIANCES
— WASHERS,
FREEZERS, ETC.
FURNITURE
TELEVISION
RADIO • JEWELRY
WATCHES
LUGGAGE
CUTLERY
PERFUME
DISHES • TOOLS
SPORTING GOODS
MUSICAL
INSTRUMENTS
GARDEN SUPPLIES
& FURNITURE
CAMERAS
AUTOMOBILE
ACCESSORIES
SILVERWARE
— and practically
anything else you
can think of.

MERCHANDISE CLUB of AMERICA

381 Fulton Street, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation, Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

Phone 6-7000

A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Outdoor activities, tennis, water sports on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings.

RATES MODERATE.

Now! The most glorious of all SPRINGTIME VACATIONS!

Luxurious Adult Vacationing



Beautiful rooms. All sports. Superb American-Jewish food. Informal evenings. Bookings now for entire season.

SPECIAL JUNE RATES

HATHAWAY LODGE Phone: Tannersville 299
HAINEES FALLS, N. Y.

SUMMER RENTAL

RURAL seclusion near Berkshire cultural, recreational centers; airy housekeeping rooms, furnished, all conveniences, accommodate 4. Fireplace, garage; week, month. P. Eaton, Old Chatham, N. Y.

NO THRU TRAFFIC

The road to Garnet Lake, hidden jewel of the Adirondacks, is a dead end country road. Away from it all, yet equipped for civilized living, we offer to nice congenial people 2 cozy cottages, each with hot water supply, shower, electric cooking, frigidaire. Simply furnished but cheerful and spacious (20' x 20') suitable up to 5 people. Each cottage \$50 weekly.

Large all-year-round house suitable 1 or 2 families, also available.

Mrs. WALTER O. BLANK,
Room 442, 799 Broadway, N. Y. 3
GR 5-1445

SMILING PINES CAMP

For Boys & Girls • 4 to 12 years

Happy days from July 1st to August 26th
Careful supervision Small group.
Non-sectarian. Write for Booklet.

James & Nellie Diek
MODERN SCHOOL, 115 Carey St., Lakewood, N. J.
Phone: 6-1007

FARMS & ACREAGE

75 ACRES; new 3-room house; fireplace; brook; spring; pond; view. 6 miles to Tanglewood. \$4000. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

a choice between the British and the American way of spelling a word I always use the American. He never asked me any questions about Dr. Levy's family, and I certainly never volunteered the information that Dr. Levy was a bachelor and died without progeny. Neither did I ever tell him that the carbon copies from which the book was set were on Dr. Levy's typewriter. . . . I did tell him about the censorial fire in which the original manuscripts were destroyed and of the mutilated vermin-ridden carbon copies from which we reconstructed "My Sister and I."

Werner evidently took it on himself to write to Dr. Levy's surviving relatives, with the result that Maud Levy Rosenthal, his daughter, wrote Werner that she knew nothing about her father having translated "My Sister and I" and written an introduction to it. I was a little surprised at Mrs. Rosenthal's out-of-hand condemnation of the book, but not by her lack of knowledge about it. My agreement with Dr. Levy entailed his not being mentioned in connection with the book during the lifetime of Elisabeth Foerster-Nietzsche, with whom suing people was a zealous preoccupation. . . .

New York

SAMUEL ROTH

CORRECTION

For purposes of condensation, the article *Dam the Missouri Floods*, which appeared in *The Nation* of April 26, was partially rewritten by us under circumstances which made it impossible to submit the revised manuscript to the author, Richard G. Baumhoff, for the usual check before press time. Mr. Baumhoff takes exception to certain of the revisions, notably the sentence, "Of committees, councils, and commissions, the Missouri Basin has more than enough; what it needs are more dams, levees, run-off and irrigation systems, and power plants." The author declares that this sentence "seriously misrepresents" his point of view. Mr. Baumhoff also calls attention to the fact that we inadvertently omitted the Federal Power Commission as a member of the Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, and referred to the recent floods as affecting the "lower" instead of the "middle" Missouri valley.

Naturally Mr. Baumhoff cannot be held responsible for these or any other changes in his original manuscript.

EDITORS THE NATION

PUBLIC RELATIONS

PUBLICITY

for labor groups, trade associations, civic organizations and business corporations

JESSE GORDON & ASSOCIATES

Public Relations

1819 Broadway New York 23

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

FINANCING

FINANCING

Large Industrial

Enterprises

L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON

565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17

PERSONALS

PORTABLE DISHWASHER—Stainless Steel interior—On Wheels—Regularly \$229.95—SPECIAL \$179.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819.

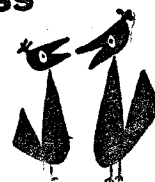
NEW YORK MAN, sixties, defect, arthritis, interests: music, literature, economics, vegetarianism, wish contact woman intellectually attractive with physical defect, same interests. Box 279, c/o The Nation.

YOUNG college instructor welcomes interesting feminine correspondence from the Middle West. Box 278, c/o The Nation.

WOULD YOU like to meet someone who might like to meet you? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address: Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, N. Y. 23.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions." Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



Attention Please!

Train leaving on Track 31 for

.....

Are they calling out the location of your resort?

Those vacationers are heading for two weeks of rest and fun. Do they know what good times they can have at your place?

Tell them about it through the resort advertising pages of *The Nation*.

■ For information as to space, rates and advertising date,

Phone Barclay 7-1066

or WRITE to

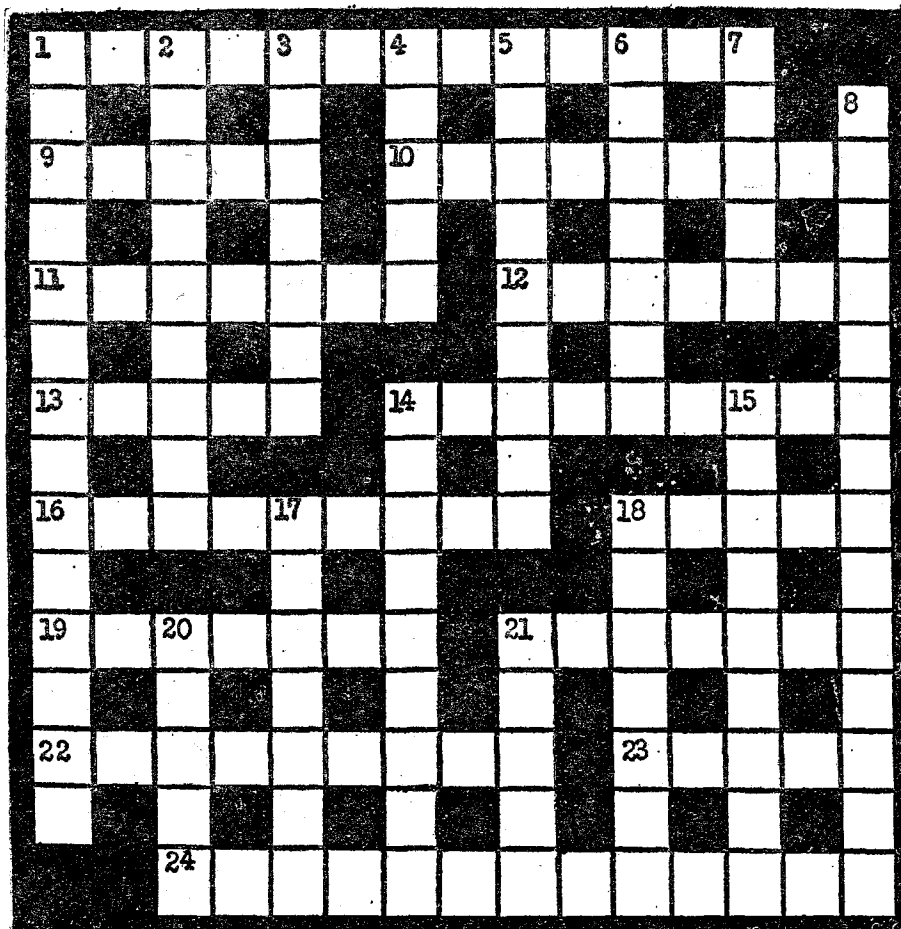
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York City 7

Crossword Puzzle No. 470

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Thick and thin might, if you're looking for a cliché. (6-7)
- 9 No water in the grog, alternatively it's proverbially idle. (5)
- 10 Gain flesh like a shark? (9)
- 11 Not part of the refrigerator fleet. (7)
- 12 Exemplified by ∞ and $\forall$? (7)
- 13 You might a 4, but usually not for your own health. (5)
- 14 Reckless speed rate, obviously! (9)
- 16 No, not, for example, produced by Brownies. (9)
- 18 Train-man, perhaps, and I get together. (5)
- 19 Acts like a postman, or repudiates the act. (7)
- 21 It might be represented by three-quarters gold in the fire, perhaps. (7)
- 22 Where there's a will? Quite the opposite, in this condition. (9)
- 23 One to a thousand, since it's an insect. (5)
- 24 A waiting period spent in Greenwich? (2, 3, 8)

DOWN

- 1 Adam's apple? (9, 5)
- 2 Awkward profession? (9)

- 3 Cloak, or something for the rest of the propeller. (7)
- 4 Suggests a scrape the bride gets blamed for. (5)
- 5 This grit's certainly not radically different! (9)
- 6 Relax! (7)
- 7 Toussaint liberated it. (5)
- 8 Theme song of Bob, when down with laryngitis? (10, 4)
- 14 The French political body saved up waste! (9)
- 15 You can't have a man talk a little without seeing a counteragent. (9)
- 17 Passage read in the survey? (7)
- 18 A rather unusual touch. (7)
- 20 If this singer took cake, it would sound childish. (5)
- 21 It might be superior to a letter, or twice as long as the whole note. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 469

ACROSS:—1 SUMMER COMPLAINT; 9 EXACTED; 10 NECKTIE; 11 KIDNEY; 12 RED LIGHT; 14 FORMIC ACID; 15 IRAQ; 17 HACK; 19 SHAM BATTLE; 22 DERIVING; 23 GARNET; 25 VANILLA; 26 PROVISIO; 27 LATTER DAY SAINTS.

DOWN:—1 SPEAK OF THE DEVIL; 2 MEANDER; 3 ESTHETIC; 4 CODE; 5 MANEISMIS; 6 LOCALE; 7 INTEGER; 8 TWENTY QUESTIONS; 13 CASH ON HAND; 16 PARABOLA; 18 CORONET; 20 TENSION; 21 SVELTE; 24 SPRY.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont

A Delightful Adult Vacation Resort

- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, bicycles
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Deluxe cottages with private bath
- Meals European plan

Write Diana & Abe Berman, Brandon, Vt.



Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate • Limited to 90 • Pollen free
Folk-Square Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Motorboating • 14-Mile Lake • All Sports
Special Bachelor Club Rate • Fine Food
N. Y. Office: 230 W. 57th St. Circle 6-6386
Reduced Rates to July 12th Louis A. Roth, Dir.

CARISBROOKE INN

The Adirondacks Schroon Lake, N. Y.

- Ideal for Family
- A Children's Paradise
- Outdoor Sports
- Moderate Rates
- Booklet on Request

C. A. & L. R. Hargreaves Telephone: 140 J 1

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, records, sports, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.

\$50.00 Weekly; \$7.50 Daily

65 Miles from New York City
JANE G. ARENZ • R. D. No. 1 • WALDEN, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE — STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake, all Land & Water Sports, featuring Water Skiing & Excellent Tennis • Interesting hiking objectives through woodland trails • Horseback riding available • Arts & Crafts • Square & Folk Dancing Instruction.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for Literature • Phone: Hancock 98, Ring 13

pine lake lodge

KENOZA LAKE • NEW YORK

A delightful, peaceful resort for adults and children. Private lake, fishing, boating, sports. Children's counselor. Informal—square dancing—camp fires—unusual record collection. Weekly \$45 adults, \$25 & \$30 children. JUNE \$35. SPECIAL RATES FOR FAMILIES & EXTENDED VACATIONS. Write for Booklet B.

SIAMESE DANCER, MARA, will entertain at Seven Hills July 4th weekend. Special Holiday rates. SEVEN HILLS, Lenox 4, Mass.

HARRITON'S FOREST & STREAM LODGE—90-acre estate. An ultra-modern, small but individual resort for complete relaxation, private baths, swimming . . . fishing . . . golf practice on our spacious lawns . . . continental cuisine. Write for booklet—R. D. No. 1, Cresco, Penn. Phone: Mt. Pocono 6511.



Look for Next Week's Issue of The Nation!

How free is free?

● A SPECIAL 64-PAGE NUMBER ●

ON June 28th *The Nation* will publish the most important special issue it has brought out in recent years. In preparation for nearly a year, this 64-page number will measure and describe the impact of the post-1945 witch hunt on the civil liberties of the American people, with particular emphasis on the occupations and categories that have been under direct attack.

This issue is not concerned with civil liberties in the abstract, but with civil liberties as an aspect of the economic security and well-being of rank-and-file citizens, including 6,000,000 government employees—federal, state, and local; of scientists and research workers; of authors, librarians, and the publishing industry; of the free professions of law, medicine, and the ministry; of the generation of students now in colleges and universities; of teachers and the public-school system; of radio and television and those who work in these industries; of actors, playwrights and the stage; of instructors in colleges and universities, and academic freedom; of the labor movement; of workers in the motion-picture industry and of motion pictures; of resident aliens and members of minority groups; and of other categories and occupations.

We are asking organizations and individuals to help us get this issue into the hands of as many readers as possible. Bulk orders should be placed now in order to insure prompt delivery. Make use of the convenient order form below.

► CONTRIBUTORS INCLUDE: ◀

KIRTLEY F. MATHER, Professor of Geology, Harvard University; incumbent president of American Association for Advancement of Science.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, author of "The Robber Barons," "The Politicos," and a biography of Sidney Hillman, soon to be published.

GOODWIN WATSON, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

H. H. WILSON, member of the Department of Politics, Princeton University, and the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., Professor of Law at Harvard University, author of "Freedom of Speech."

MERLE MILLER, author of "The Judges and the Judged."

GILBERT W. GABRIEL, President of the New York Drama Critics Circle, and drama critic of *Cue*.

ALSO: Factual on-the-spot reports of the state of civil liberties in Chicago, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and other cities, prepared by local representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union. The supplement will also include a report—"Hollywood Meets Frankenstein"—on recent witch-hunting activities in the motion picture industry. As a special feature, the supplement will include a manuscript by the late Louis Adamic—"Confessions of a Thirty-Third Degree Subversive."

Use This Convenient Order Form

THE NATION • 20 Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

For the enclosed remittance of \$_____ please send me, postpaid, _____ copies of *The Nation's* forthcoming 64-page Civil Liberties issue.

☐ 10 Copies \$1.80 ☐ 50 Copies \$8 ☐ 100 Copies \$14
☐ 500 Copies \$60 ☐ 1,000 Copies \$100

Please write for special rates on larger quantities.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6/21/52

Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tenn.